The Rise of the Authenticity Economy: A Study of the Transformation and Spread of Food Trucks across Cities

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Abstract

The emergence of gourmet food trucks in the last five years represents a surprising market transformation. The trucks succeed by crossing boundaries pertaining to both status and genre, which usually is disadvantageous. They are also unevenly distributed across the United States despite the absence of production advantages to agglomeration. We find that the answers to these puzzles all trace back to a broad cultural movement for authentic and local production processes. The particular values of this movement and its geographic patterning explain the results, and also offer insights into the potential growth and limits to authenticity-based markets. The results extend theories of cultural omnivorism and suggest a more contextual approach to resource partitioning. To support these analyses, we develop an innovative data collection procedure that harvests Twitter data to yield a near population set of cases. We analyze these data by coding the Twitter bios of food trucks and by estimating negative binomial regressions of truck populations across cities.

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Introduction

Street vending is one of America's oldest professions. Until 1940, mobile eateries were so popular they had their own census occupation category (Morales and Kettles 2009). Hot dog stands, and more recently taco and shawarma trucks, have long defined the street vending industry as consisting of relatively cheap and homogeneous products, stable locations, and a clientele of local workers (Hermosillo 2012; Ibrahim 2011). However, in late 2008, when Chef Roy Choi started serving hybrid Korean tacos out of his Los Angeles-based Kogi truck, a new way of selling street food emerged.

The Kogi truck creatively recombined Korean and Mexican cuisines to sell distinctive and upscale products, changed locations regularly, and used Twitter to connect with customers across the LA region. Only two years later, Choi was named one of *Food & Wine's* "best new chefs" — the first time a chef had ever won this award for vending food on the street. This accolade ignited a growing buzz around food trucks through personal interactions, online discussion networks, and multiple cable television shows. In the eyes of critics and participants, food trucks had become a phenomenon or even a social movement.

According to our data, which we will unpack below, by the time *Food & Wine* anointed Roy Choi as a top chef in 2010, there were 601 Twitter trucks in the United States. These trucks were irregularly dispersed around the country. Certain cities formed hotspots while others remained relatively dormant: for example, in 2010, there were 96 Twitter trucks in Los Angeles, 34 in Portland, Oregon, and 16 in Atlanta. However, Dallas and Memphis had only three apiece, and many smaller cities had zero.

This story of aesthetic transformation and explosive but uneven growth in the previously sleepy market of street vending raises several questions concerning the culture, organization, and geography of markets. First, how have Twitter trucks transformed a previously stereotyped low brow genre with

homogeneous products— "roach coaches" as many were called — into a high brow genre serving creative fusion products? According to well accepted models of status, producers are unlikely to cross status boundaries because customers discount status climbers, while high status producers are averse to contaminating their valuable positions (Podolny 1993). Second, and relatedly, why does the mixing of cuisines (e.g. Korean and Mexican fusion) prove so successful among Twitter trucks? This finding clashes with a rapidly growing body of evidence that audiences prefer products and companies that conform to genres and other market categories (Hannan 2010). Third, from a geographical lens, why are Twitter trucks concentrated in particular cities? This question is particularly perplexing given that the usual regional advantages (i.e., natural resources, material efficiencies from colocation, and human capital) do not apply to this market. Indeed, a would-be entrepreneur only needs a food truck, a menu, and a Twitter account, all of which are readily available across the country. Yet, trucks accumulate in particular cities.

In the analyses developed below, we find that the answers to these questions all trace back to a broad cultural movement that propels the new food trucks. This movement seeks to infuse the economy and other spheres of life with authentic consumption experiences. Like any social movement, this loosely tied collective project is rooted in specific resources that are concentrated in certain locales, which results in an uneven geographic spread of mobilization (Marquis and Battilana 2009). Here, we build on past work that connects specialist producers to social movements, especially Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) on microbreweries. However, we revise this research to push it further towards social movement theory and away from resource partitioning theory, as we find that the growth of specialists is due more to supportive cultural contexts than to the freeing up of resources as a consequence of market concentration. Cities with likeminded people and organizations foster more trucks. In contrast, cities with concentrated restaurant populations have fewer trucks.

In addition, movement beliefs help explain the success of hybridity in status and in cuisine among Twitter trucks. Chief among these are the valuation of unique and local production processes, which are often demonstrated in creative recombination or boundary crossing. Instantiating these beliefs, a growing movement of consumers and producers value hybridity for its own sake, which complicates past research on the pressures to conform to status and categorical boundaries. These findings also extend recent cultural theories of omnivorous consumption patterns (Peterson 2005). Beyond *omnivorous consumers,* who seek out the best and most authentic products from a variety of genres, we also find evidence of *omnivorous products* that internally recombine the best elements from multiple genres and cross status boundaries. Supplementing the considerable evidence pertaining to omnivorous consumers in the literature, we begin to theorize the production of these omnivorous goods as rooted in geography.

To develop and substantiate these ideas, we draw primarily on a Twitter dataset of modern food trucks. The new food trucks rely on Twitter in order to keep their customers informed of their menu and location changes. Consequently, we are able to search through Twitter and build a nearly complete record of trucks across cities and over time, as we explain further below. This dataset provides us with both a record of truck activity across cities and a corpus of the self-descriptions of these businesses, supporting a multi-method analysis of the trucks.

The remainder of this paper has five parts: First, we unpack our qualitative materials to explain the hybrid characteristics of the new food trucks. Second, we develop hypotheses concerning the geography of Twitter trucks. Third, we present our data and quantitative methods. Fourth, we test the hypotheses using negative binomial regression models. Fifth, we conclude with a summary of findings, implications for sociological theory, and future research directions.

The Transformation of Food Trucks

"We're not street food. We're more like a restaurant that serves food on the street, trying to stretch the shortsighted idea that street food has to be a two-dollar taco." – Chef Joshua Henderson (Shouse 2011)

As this quote illustrates, by providing restaurant quality food Twitter trucks aim to strongly challenge stereotypes of street vendors being lowbrow. By selling highbrow food through a traditionally unsophisticated dining experience, contemporary mobile eateries extend the cultural consumption trend of omnivorousness. As we will describe below, the omnivore products gourmet food trucks provide — such as fusion cuisine and upscale comfort foods — allow upwardly mobile consumers to satisfy their desires for authentic dining experiences.

By conducting a qualitative analysis of food trucks' Twitter "tweets" and "bios" — a one to two sentence description of the organization — we investigate how mobile restaurants self-identify and market themselves. In this section, we analyze our full set of 3,488 Twitter trucks from around the English-speaking world, while in later regression analyses we focus on the U.S trucks. We base our findings here on a review of all 3,488 cases as well as on the results of a more systematic coding of a subsample of 500 trucks.

Omnivorousness: Hybrid Status among Food Trucks

The term omnivorousness refers to a general tolerance and openness among elites' cultural consumption habits. Peterson and Kern (1996) popularized the term after discovering that the American upper class were enjoying lowbrow music, such as country, in addition to highbrow music, like opera or classical. From these findings, the authors concluded that snobbery among elites had decreased and individuals were consuming goods in a more omnivore-like manner. The theory of omnivorousness departs from historical works on cultural consumption, such as Veblen's "conspicuous consumption" theory (1934) and Bourdieu's *Distinction* (1984)*,* which examined the particular highbrow goods the upper classes consumed to sustain social status. Rather, contemporary elites signal standing through their consumption of a variety of genres, selecting from across both lowbrow and highbrow varieties.

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There is a general agreement among scholars that American elites now exhibit omnivore tendencies across many cultural goods (Bellavance 2008; Bryson 1996; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004; Holt 1997; Johnston and Baumann 2007; López-Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Peterson 1992; Peterson and Simkus 1992; Van Eijck and Lievens 2008).

Within the culinary realm, recent shifts in gastronomic practices have mirrored the omnivore-like consumption patterns of the elite (Johnston and Baumann 2007). French haute cuisine, once the dominant culinary tradition, no longer holds exclusive reign among American palates (Kuh 2001; Rao, Monin, and Durand 2003). In a similar manner to the gourmet food journalism that Johnston and Baumann (2007) analyzed, contemporary food trucks reflect the cultural trend towards omnivorousness. Mobile eateries integrate both lowbrow qualities (i.e., being a street vendor) and highbrow goods (i.e., gourmet food). By doing so, they mesh elements of democracy and create a fantastical "classless foodscape" for consumers, where the ordinary — such as macaroni and cheese — is made into a romantic and privileged product (Johnston and Baumann 2010). The process by which food trucks deliver upscale food through a traditionally branded low-class medium reflects what Johnston and Baumann (2007) call the "omnivores paradox:" the growing consumer openness to what have long been deemed illegitimate culinary customs but now represent a marker of status and distinction (p. 178).

Twitter descriptions embrace the tension between the dual high and low-brow nature of food trucks. For example, several mobile restaurants illustrate the blending of fine dining in a street ambiance:

> *Street food; you can eat it w/ your hands, and it's bursting w/ so much flavor, that you can't believe it came off a truck and not from a fancy restaurant.*
>
> *It's our mission to bring restaurant quality food to the streets of Ottawa.*
>
> *Delightfully convenient, bourgeois dining on a paper plate.*

While the words "gourmet to go" may seem antithetical, the mobile restaurant industry has capitalized on selling upscale meals through spaces historically associated as "roach couches," implying

poor quality and sanitation (Ibrahim 2011). The transformation of street food from stigmatized to upscale is echoed in the language of food truck owners. For instance, a San Francisco truck bio reads "Le truc is redefining street food - it is one of the first gourmet kitchens on wheels run by culinary professionals."

While "Loncheros" – taco trucks – have long been "mom and pop" immigrant operations (Hermosillo 2012), Twitter trucks identify with professionally trained chefs. As the previous quote indicates, a chef's resume is a marketing tool for many mobile kitchens. For instance a British truck describes itself, "Street Kitchen features two top London chefs serving bistro food from a vintage trailer around London." A food truck offering Vietnamese sandwiches boasts: "The brainchild of a Masterchef top 30 contestant." Others reference cooking awards; for example, a Seattle eatery pronounces: "brought to you by Food & Wine Best New Chef." These statements are not unusual, as many accomplished chefs turn to food trucks for their greater ability to experiment with food. For chefs that aspire to one day open their own restaurant yet lack the capital, food trucks can also provide a lower cost of entry into the culinary industry.

It is not only how and by whom food trucks serve their clientele, but more importantly, *what* products they provide consumers that make mobile eateries culturally omnivorous organizations. Twitter truck cuisine is built upon an innovative recombination of culinary forms. One of the most popular ways that mobile eateries blend cultural products is by turning traditional comfort food into luxury fare. A New York truck describes itself as, "Dishing out upscale comfort food with a feisty attitude." Another writes, "We put a gourmet twist on the corner hot dog stand." A primary example of status merging is the popular "gourmet" grilled cheese sandwiches. Sixty-eight trucks in our sample – with comical names such as "Cheese Gone Wild," "The Melting Truck," and "Cheesed and Confused" – exclusively sold exotic variations on the commonplace cheese sandwich. For these trucks, and others that provided comfort foods like mac and cheese, burgers, and hot dogs, their popularity lay in the

ability to reimagine a traditionally lowbrow food for high end culinary palates. For example, the LA "Grilled Cheese Truck" offers a sandwich filled with Southern macaroni and cheese, pulled BBQ pork, caramelized onions, and sharp cheddar. In their Twitter bios mobile kitchens play up their creative renovation of run-of-the-mill products: "A new Mobile Truck specializing in putting a unique twist on the everyday grilled cheese sandwich!" Another bio reads, "A Gourmet Grilled Cheese Food Truck specializing in creating everyone's childhood favorite with a grown-up twist. We aim to please with our cheese!"

Another staple of food truck cookery is the fusion of unexpected ingredients. In brief, fusion cooking is the process of bringing together elements of diverse culinary traditions. Many Twitter trucks have achieved popularity because of their unique and innovative fusion food. Kogi BBQ, the truck featured in the introduction, first made its success by offering Korean tacos, a creative combination of Korean and Mexican cooking. Perhaps because of Kogi's success, Asian-Latin fusion has become one of the top ten savory cuisines among food trucks (Weber 2012). For example, a truck that serves Asian-Latin cuisine explains, "Cali love blends the traditional tastes of a Mexican taco truck with the flavors of authentic Korean BBQ through tacos, burritos & quesadillas." Some other instances of creative cuisine mash-ups include, Dominican influenced sushi, Southern fried vegan BBQ, American-Southern inspired empanadas, crepes filled with Mexican recipes, Turkish-German fusion, and Thai-Mexican fare. Particular ingredients can also be a source of fusion cuisine. For instance, the "Bacon Wagon" specializes in imaginative products all based on one ingredient: "We sell #Bacon! Bacon Sandwiches, Tomato Bacon Soup, Bacon Chili, Bacon Cupcakes. BACON!"

Consumers also appear to recognize and value the omnivorism of food trucks. We collected 610 Twitter bios of self-proclaimed "food truck groupies" to see what diners of these mobile eateries were seeking. These individuals coined playful Twitter handles to display their love for mobile restaurants, such as "Food Truck Nerd," "Street Food Connoisseur," and "Food Truck Queen." Omnivorousness was a

strong theme among the profiles of these food truck fans. For example, the following bios express a desire to consume a wide array of culinary forms:

> *I love food. From food carts, to ultra swanky.*

> *I love mom & pop restaurants, food trucks, dive bars & James Beard nominees. When it comes to good food, I don't discriminate. Except for chains, I hate chains.*

> *We eat high brow, low brow, haute cuisine, street meat & everything in-between.*

> *Loves to eat and cook good food. Cheap street eats, fine dining degustations, love it all.*

As these quotes reveal, much of the appeal of food trucks is their ability to fuse upscale and lowbrow eating experiences. But what ultimately underlies this omnivore purchasing behavior is a search for authenticity.

"Food Truck Chasing": The Search for Authenticity

At the root of omnivorousness is a search for the real, genuine, and sincere. From this logic, what matters is not the status of a product — i.e., upscale versus lowbrow — but whether that product is *authentic* in nature. Authenticity legitimizes omnivorousness by negotiating the two contradictory ideologies of distinction and democracy (Johnston and Baumann 2007; Johnston and Baumann 2010). On the one hand, food trucks allow elites to cast away their snobbery for a traditionally lowbrow eating experience. However, at the same time, Twitter trucks perpetuate cultural distinction through their gourmet upscale products and inaccessibility. Contemporary mobile kitchens have anywhere from a 25-60% markup in contrast to traditional taco trucks' offerings (Wang 2009). In addition, unlike Loncheros which remain stable, customers must proactively find Twitter trucks with an internet-capable phone, further perpetuating class inequalities (Wang 2009). Consequently, trucks' ability to artfully package a lowbrow and "authentic" street dining experience is crucial to appealing to their upwardly mobile and omnivorous clientele.

Food trucks reflect a larger concern for authenticity within the culinary arts, especially among the affluent diners who fuel the industry. As Carroll and Wheaton (2009) demonstrate, consumer

attention to issues of authenticity within restaurants has increased remarkably in the last few decades. Diners attribute higher ratings to establishments they view as authentic (Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman 2013) and may even disregard health violations if they view an eatery as "genuine" (Lehman, Kovács, and Carroll 2013). There are several theories as to why consumers seek to attain authentic food products: a reaction against corporate mass production that has come with modernity, a venue for self-expression, and a path to status attainment (Carroll and Wheaton 2009). As a response to the mounting attention paid to authenticity in public discourse, a growing number of scholars have examined the issue specifically in the culinary arena, such as wine (Beverland 2005), microbreweries (Carroll and Swaminathan 2000), champagne (Guy 2003), foodies (Johnston and Baumann 2010), and grass-fed beef (Weber, Heinze, and DeSoucey 2008).

But what does authenticity look like in the case of food trucks? While authenticity is commonly defined as what is "real" or "genuine," research demonstrates that the term is highly mutable and socially constructed based on complex local interactions. Carroll and Wheaton (2009) outline four interrelated types of authenticity salient to the culinary industry, which we apply to food trucks: type, craft, moral, and idiosyncratic. Below, we review how each form of authenticity is expressed in food truck Twitter bios. While we present each form of authenticity separately, as our excerpts reveal, there is a good deal of overlapping. Mobile eateries tend to deploy multiple facets of authenticity in order to attract customers.

Authenticity is commonly understood as "true to type," where a product, service or organization fits within an institutionalized category or genre. For food trucks, type authenticity refers to the ability to serve a pure version of a particular ethnic food (i.e., Mexican, Korean, etc...). Type authenticity was raised in two manners. First, food trucks linked their food products to a specific geographic place. This follows the assertion that omnivores tend to prefer authentic and exotic cultural objects, often linked to

a geographically or socially distant place (Cheyne and Binder 2010; Holt 1997; Johnston and Baumann

2007). For instance:

> *Crepe de Ville brings the sidewalks of Paris to the streets of L.A. We bring authentic*
> *French flavors to you with our unique, open-air mobile kitchen.*

> *We import waffle dough from Europe and sell our waffles out of Flawless Fire-Engine-*
> *Red Vending Truck all Copper Kitchen in and around greater Sacramento CA*

Second, trucks asserted their products were "the real thing" by referring to family traditions. For

example, a Chicago dumpling truck advertised, "Serving fresh, authentic handmade steamed dumplings

crafted from family recipes." A Mexican mobile eatery similarly promoted, "authentic recipes that have

been passed down thru the decades within our family." Another jokingly endorsed the authenticity of

their products, "Wanna tuk with us? It's cool that you don't have a Thai mom, cuz we're sharing ours (&

her amazing Thai dishes) w/ you."

Type authenticity also refers to food trucks status as a mobile street vendor. Food trucks appeal

to diners who view see the adventure associated with consuming street food on the sidewalk

(Hermosillo 2012) as an authentic eating experience outside traditional dining (Esparza, Walker, and

Rossman 2013; Ibrahim 2011). For instance, an Indian mobile kitchen served "authentic street food from

the Streets of Bombay to the Streets of the UK." Fan tweets reflected this desire for the genuine street

food experience, as one diner explained, "On a mission to eat and tweet real street food."

Yet, Twitter trucks appeal to type authenticity raises an intriguing tension with original food

trucks, such as Loncheros and hot dog carts. While gourmet mobile eateries claim to serve the "real"

and "genuine" food from a particular locale, they often still transform the genre. Consequently, type

authenticity may conflict with the desires of Twitter trucks to serve unique and original products.

Carroll and Wheaton (2009) argue that in contemporary society type authenticity has been

subsumed by craft authenticity: an emphasis on the craftsmanship of production methods. A primary

manner of evoking craft authenticity is by indicating a cooks' mastery of particular techniques, such as

artisanal methods. An ice cream truck advertised their dedication to the craft, "a mobile gourmet ice cream experience featuring our artisanal small batch ice cream along with our signature ice cream sandwiches." Specialized equipment also promoted craft authenticity, as illustrated by a Las Vegas pizza truck producing, "Artisan, hand-crafted pizza made in a stone oven heated with read wood burning up to 700 degrees inside. Delicious, thin crusted mobile pizzas made to order." Lastly, the usage of appropriate ingredients is important in expressing dedication to the culinary craft. Locavorism, a popular culinary movement to eat seasonally appropriate food that comes from only hundreds of miles away, is well represented in the gourmet truck market. Here, trucks emphasized their "Farm-to-Fork fare":

> *The country's first and finest mobile rotisserie, serving only sustainably-farmed meats and organic produce at their seasonal best.*

> *Haute and Fresh...Seasonal, handcrafted tacos and melts from our mobile cart to you.*

> *Girls on a mission: Farm to truck - food for the soul. We are bringing fresh local food to you for your enjoyment. Follow us on Facebook!*

As this last Twitter bio indicates, craftsmanship often overlapped with a moral agenda. Moral authenticity is defined as an organization that promotes sincere and moral motives, often non-economic in nature, versus self-interested intentions. Sincerity was evoked by emphasizing one's passion for cooking, such as a truck declaring its food is "Made from scratch with LOVE." Another Twitter truck explained, "Taking our passion to the streets one person at a time."

Supporting local farms, using organic, socially ethical (i.e. Fairtrade) and sustainably sourced ingredients was another avenue to conveying moral authenticity. For instance, a coffee truck dually expressed craft and moral authenticity in their bio: "We are a mobile, self-sufficient Fairtrade Coffee Bar. Kitted out with an authentic Italian coffee machine, we offer a range of high quality hot beverages." Environmental sustainability of the truck itself, such as running on bio-diesel or using biodegradable containers, was another route to moral authenticity. For example, "The Yellow Pear is Ontario's only solar powered food truck, focusing on farm to truck cuisine."

Lastly, although less common, the act of promoting local charities supported a morally authentic identity:

Our food cart will actively pursue the needs of the hungry masses, deliver a positive impact on street vitality and promote the community's economic development

Non-profit #Foodtruck bringing 'feel good food' to #ATL. 1 meal purchased = 3 meals for those in need!

Even trucks that evoked non-profit motives sustained their status as gourmet vendors. For example, a Minnesota food truck aptly called the "The Moral Omnivore" explained "MO is afood truck serving gourmet, sustainable food while giving back to the community."

Diner's expected sincerity from those running food trucks, as one fan tweeted: "Corporate greed and big business takeover tactics don't belong in the food truck industry." This was especially salient given that the increasing usage of food trucks by chain restaurants as a form of marketing was a source of contention among consumers; delineating lines between authentic mobile eateries and "big business."

Lastly, idiosyncratic authenticity, an extension of moral authenticity, is understood as the quirky stories and unusual qualities of a product or organization. For instance, the Portland food truck Maximus/Minumus, which is decorated as a giant pig that serves pulled pork, would be deemed idiosyncratically authentic. Or, the "The Rockin Taco" truck that allows diners to sing karaoke with their meal. The unique usage of food products and fusion cuisine was a related and more common manifestation of idiosyncratic authenticity, such as the "Peanut Butter Bar" truck that features "groovy gourmet peanut butter inspired dishes," a truck called "DipStik" that only serves fondue, and "The Roach Coach" that serves "nutritious edible insects." Discovering these quirky mobile eateries was a motivation among fans. For instance, one wrote "I'm on a mission to try every food truck in North America! I have a background in food & wine with a serious passion for the obscure!" In the next

section, we pivot to understanding how the desire for omnivorous and authentic products is rooted in particular locales.

Explaining the Uneven Geography of Twitter Trucks

To account for the varied growth of Twitter trucks across cities we consider theories of resource partitioning, social movements, socio-cultural change, and innovation. Our application of these theories builds on the picture of Twitter trucks that we established in the previous section, as specialist organizations that are tied to broader values of authenticity, boundary-crossing, and unique products. These qualities to the food truck movement allow us to develop the sociological theories in a new context that illuminates changes happening in significant parts of the U.S. economy and culture.

Resource Partitioning Theory: Specialist Vitality

Twitter trucks provide a prominent case to reexamine the relationship between specialized producers and market concentration. Early work in the production of culture framework suggests that larger producers would control markets, squeeze out independent producers, and create homogeneous products in order to maximize returns (Peterson and Berger 1975). However, organizational changes in the production process and market strategy led to an "open system" of production. Here, large companies control marketing and distribution but organize production through a decentralized network of semi-independent divisions, contractors, and alliances (Dowd 2004; Lopes 1992; Peterson and Berger 1975).

Resource partitioning theory explores similar questions but from a different perspective. Starting with a study of newspapers (Carroll 1985), the theory divides markets into two components: large generalist firms in the center and small specialist firms in the periphery. From this framework, markets develop through a dialectical model: in the first phase, generalists concentrate in the center of the market or taste distribution, and in the second phase, specialists arise to take advantage of vacated spaces on the market periphery. As a result of this dynamic, market concentration is associated with declining vitality for generalists but increasing vitality for specialists.

The differences between these two perspectives are most evident in the question of separation between large and small firms. As the name indicates, resource partitioning theory emphasizes the barriers that create enduring divisions within markets. These barriers can be due to production processes or consumer preferences that make it unprofitable for firms to spread across a market space (Carroll, Dobrev, and Swaminathan 2002). In a striking development of these ideas, Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) find that microbreweries are able to sustain their independence from generalist brewers by strategically deploying an oppositional identity that stigmatizes large-scale production in favor of local, authentic, and creative production methods. These identity politics deter entry by large-scale producers into microbrew niches, partitioning the market between the generalist industrial producers and the specialist microbrewers.

Greve, Pozner, and Rao (2006) further develop this model of politicized resource partitioning in the context of local radio. They theorize that in addition to providing resource space for specialists, market concentration generates a grievance or potent target for mobilization, which also increases the vitality of specialists. In support of this idea, they found that the concentration of national chains directly encouraged applications for low power FM radio stations, and also increased the effect of movement discourse on applications. Although these findings do not take into account the crucial role of FCC regulations in the case (Hart-Brinson, 2010), they still chart innovative theoretical ground in further linking the resource partitioning, social movement, and production of culture literatures.

The similarities between modern food trucks and microbreweries provide an opportunity to build on these ideas. Twitter trucks are specialized producers that are part of the same oppositional movement emphasizing local production, creativity, and authenticity over large-scale, homogeneous, and inauthentic products. Following Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) and Greve, Pozner, and Rao (2006), the concentration of national chain restaurants in a city should increase the population of Twitter trucks by both freeing up resources in the market periphery and by providing a target to encourage

mobilization. As corporate chain restaurants occupy a greater percentage of the market, there should be

increasing space for specialist producers to develop products outside the scope of these chains, and

there should be greater opportunities for specialists to contrast their business model with chains. This

reasoning generates our first hypothesis:

> *H1*: The more concentrated the national chain restaurants are in a city, the more modern food
>
> trucks there should be in that city.

The Authenticity Economy: The Creative Class, Cultural Omnivores, and Postmaterialism

Alternatively, Twitter trucks may grow with the strength of the authenticity movement, rather

than in response to the consolidation of opposed businesses. This dynamic is akin to how social

movements often proliferate in locations with more movement supporters rather than in places with

more underlying grievances (Longhofer and Schofer 2010). If this is the case, then Twitter trucks should

expand in movement hotspots, where there are supportive organizations and people.

We draw on three theories that point to the emergence of a subsection of the population that is

oriented towards authentic, creative, and diverse life experiences, and in antagonism to mass produced,

generic, and homogenous experiences. First, Richard Florida identifies this group as the "creative class"

(Florida 2004), which he defines as people who engage in innovative work, such as architects, engineers,

artists, scientists, and writers. Members of this class are increasingly congregating in particular locales

where they are able to obtain the "experiential lifestyle" they desire, which prioritizes active

engagement with diverse and authentic cultures. With their shared emphases on authenticity and

diversity, the lifestyles of the creative class and characteristics of Twitter trucks are closely linked. Thus,

"creative class" members are likely to support modern food trucks as customers and possibly even as

entrepreneurs (Florida 2004).

Second, as demonstrated by the earlier analysis of Twitter bios, cultural omnivores are natural

supporters of the new food trucks movement. Again, this is because these consumers value a wide

range of products, as well as products that cross status boundaries. Therefore, cities with high numbers of these consumers should support more Twitter trucks.

Third, in surveys across countries and over time, Ronald Inglehart and collaborators document a related value shift in response to growing material security that they coined postmaterialism (Inglehart 2008; Inglehart and Baker 2000). Building off of Maslow's hierarchy of motivation, postmaterialist theory argues that as people satisfy basic material needs, they increasingly desire less material goods, such as authentic life experiences. There is a shift from prioritizing survival to focusing more on self-expression and quality of life. Thus, wealthier populations should have a greater interest in the creative and authentic products of Twitter trucks. Financial resources also help support the higher prices of these trucks than the traditional street vendors, as well as the technology (i.e., smart phones) that customers often use to locate the trucks.

Drawing together these related strands of research, cities with greater numbers of authenticity-focused consumers, conceptualized as creative class workers, cultural omninvores, and postmaterialists, will encourage the growth of Twitter trucks, primarily as consumers but possibly also as entrepreneurs.

H2: The larger the authenticity-focused population in a city, the more modern food trucks there

should be in that city.

Social Movement Organizations: Microbreweries, Farmers' Markets, and Food Trucks

Organizational variants of social movement theory suggest a parallel argument that related organizational populations can stimulate movement growth. Major social movements generate waves of mobilization across movements, as in the fertilization of later rights-based movements by the civil rights movement (McAdam and Scott 2005; Minkoff 1997; Tarrow 1998). More regularly, ideas, tactics, and personnel spillover between politically compatible organizations (Meyer and Whittier 1994). In similar ways, Twitter trucks are likely to benefit from the presence of other local and specialized producers. The research discussed earlier on microbreweries and local radio found support for synergies among

organizations. However, we advance this research by considering movement-specific organizations within communities. In contrast, Carroll and Swaminathan (2000) examine movement-specific organizations at the state level,[1] and Greve et al (2006) analyze the effect of all nonprofit organizations in a community, and thus do not consider the impact of organizations that are specifically aligned with a movement.

Craft breweries and farmer's markets are two especially prominent types of organizations that nurture food trucks with both material and cultural resources.[2] Materially, craft breweries and farmer's markets often supply locations for food trucks to operate as well as ingredients for their food. Culturally, these related organizations help to legitimate local specialized businesses and inculcate an appreciation among customers for their authentic and often comparatively expensive products. These causal relations are probably reciprocal with food trucks also supporting microbreweries and farmer's markets. Following the organizational social movements perspective, food trucks stem from a broader creativity and authenticity movement that is developing across society and the economy, and that is anchored in a web of related organizations.

H3: The more specialized food organizations in a city, such as farmer's markets and microbreweries, the more modern food trucks there should be in that city.

Innovation and Diversity

Our final hypothesis draws on studies that connect innovation to diversity through the process of recombination. Many theorists identify recombination as the basis of innovation (Clemens and Cook 1999; Schneiberg and Lounsbury 2008; Stark 1996). Actors who can integrate the resources and ideas of various communities are more innovative, as in the high performance of Hungarian entrepreneurs that straddle multiple business groups (Vedres and Stark 2010). Following this perspective, access to multiple

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[1] The state level of analysis is a mismatch for the theory, given the local emphasis of the movement and the variation across communities in the same state (e.g, compare Austin and Arlington in Texas).
[2] There are also many other types of organizations that are involved in the authenticity movement, such as local retailers, pop-up restaurants, and supper clubs.

culinary worlds should facilitate the creative recombination of cuisines into the omnivorous products

that are at the heart of Twitter trucks. For instance, Roy Choi, the progenitor of Korean-Mexican tacos

and the food truck movement, cites the diversity of his experiences growing up among both Korean and

Mexican communities in Los Angeles as the influence for his creative products.[3] Diverse experiences

may improve the reception of such omnivorous products as well, as people with more varied networks

are likely to have broader tastes (DiMaggio 1987). Together, this reasoning suggests that population

heterogeneity should encourage the growth of Twitter trucks.

　　　H4: The more diverse the population in a city, the more modern food trucks there should be in

that city.

Data and Methods

Dependent Variable and Model Estimation

　　　We were able to track the activities of the new food trucks due to their reliance on Twitter. We

built an initial dataset of possible food trucks through two steps: first, we traced the links from one food

truck Twitter account out to other Twitter users or "friend" ties. Second, we matched the descriptions of

these friends — the Twitter "bios" analyzed in the section above — against two dictionaries to

provisionally select the ones that described themselves as food trucks. One dictionary consisted of 1180

food words from an online food encyclopedia,[4] and the second had 8 words that described the mobile

business design of food trucks (e.g., truck, cart, trailer, mobile, etc.). To be selected, a user's description

had to match both dictionaries.[5] We then restarted the process with the provisionally selected users, so

that we iterated between finding friends of trucks and selecting the friends with truck-like descriptions.

This process was akin to building a dataset of movie actors by tracing the network out from a starting

actor, such as Kevin Bacon. It was a snowball process that generates the complete population of interest

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[3] Interview with Terry Gross on *Fresh Air*, 11/7/13, available at http://www.npr.org/2013/11/07/243527051/roy-chois-tacos-channel-la-and-the-immigrant-experience.
[4] http://whatscookingamerica.net/Glossary/GlossaryIndex2.htm, accessed on 6/8/13.
[5] Matching was case-insensitive and included both singular and plural forms of nouns.

when this population is connected such that there are no isolated components or nodes. Fortunately, the population of Twitter trucks was well-connected despite being competitors, which was perhaps due to the shared movement culture or to the need to organize against brick and mortar restaurants in order to secure favorable regulations (Esparza, Walker, and Rossman 2013). After five iterations, the program generated a list of 8369 users whose descriptions matched both dictionaries. We then inspected each user on the list to verify the actual trucks. We found 3488 food trucks, 2890 of them in the United States.[6]

We believe that this "big data" methodology has some advantages over the more traditional use of commercial databases to track organizational populations, such as the *Encyclopedia of Associations* or industry directories. The main advantage is that our method includes all active Twitter trucks rather than the subset that might enter into the data collection procedures of a commercial database, which often rely on organizations responding to surveys. The secondary advantage is that our method utilizes data generated by the subjects as a consequence of their activity over time, which are known as "digital breadcrumbs." This method more accurately reflects the timing and duration of activity, mitigating the common problems of records starting after an organization's birth and continuing after its death. On the other hand, there may be downsides to our method in terms of content, since "digital breadcrumbs" will not provide the depth of information across organizations that a survey would. Instead, it does provide data generated by the users on their self-identification, activities, and ties to other Twitter users.

Using the resulting data, our dependent variable was the number of Twitter trucks created in a city from 2008, when Roy Choi created the organizational form, through 2012. We did not utilize a longitudinal analysis because several of our key independent variables were only available at one time point. Our sampling frame was the set of U.S. cities with populations greater than 100,000. There were 289 cases but missing data reduced the analyses to 287 cities. We identified the locations of trucks using

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[6] The remaining non-trucks were typically fans of food trucks or other businesses that relate to food trucks, such as media that track food trucks or truck manufacturers.

self-reported location data. In a minority of cases, trucks reported operating in a metropolitan region (e.g., southern California) or in the suburbs of a city. In the former case, we counted the truck for each city in the region, and in the latter case, we counted the truck for the central city. In robustness analyses, we also utilized dependent variables that attributed regional trucks to the largest city in an area and that excluded suburban trucks.

With a mean of 14, a standard deviation of 27, and a range of 0-241 there was considerable variation in Twitter trucks across cities (see Table 1). Figure 1 tabulates the frequency of truck populations. As the table reveals, almost two-thirds of the cities had fewer than six trucks, and 88 had none. The remaining third of the cities were fairly evenly spread across the range.

Figure 1 - Spread of Twitter Trucks across Cities by 2012
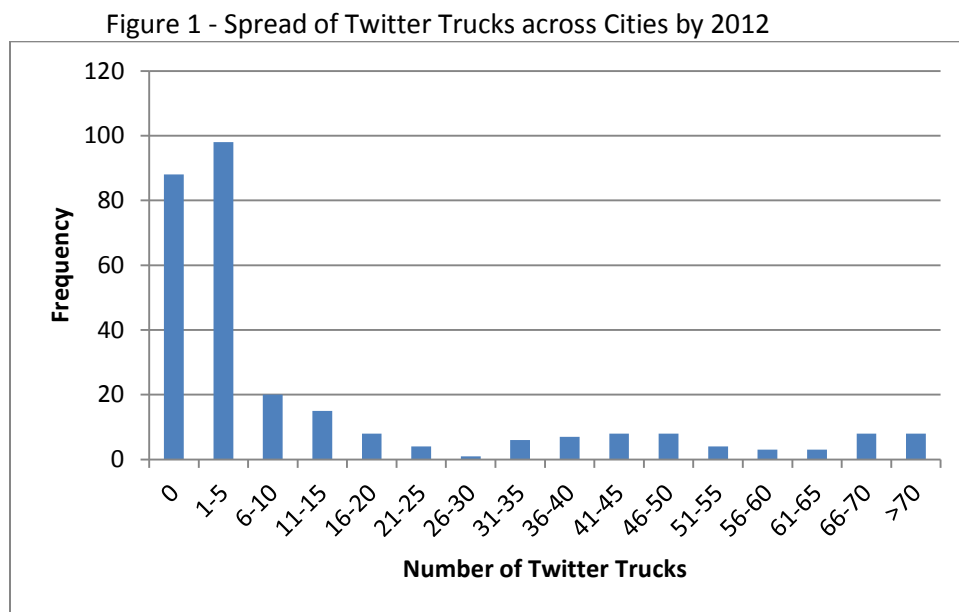
Having a count variable with a mean greater than its variance, we used negative binomial regression. We corrected for the problem of cities sharing the same metro region, which may violate the independence of observations, by using robust standard errors clustered on metropolitan regions. The estimation procedure should also have corrected for the sizeable number of zeroes (88 cases). As a check, we also ran our models with zero-inflated negative binomial regressions to account for the

possibility that separate processes account for the first truck and for additional trucks. Since the results were equivalent, we presented the simpler negative binomial models.

Independent Variables

Our first independent variable captured the consolidation of chain restaurants in a city. We measured this variable as the percentage of restaurants in a city that belonged to national chains. The data on restaurants came from Demographics Now. We downloaded the data in October 2013 but expect that the share of national chain restaurants was largely stable over a period of five years.

In order to measure the density of supportive "creative" organizations, we included the numbers of craft breweries and farmer's markets. Data on breweries came from the Brewers Association and reflected 2012 information, while data on farmer's markets came from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and were current to their download date in October 2013.[7] Although these populations were likely to have increased since 2008, and we theorized symbiotic relations with food trucks, we expect that since breweries and farmer's markets were older and more established than Twitter trucks, the effects of these variables will reflect the influence of these two organizational populations on trucks more than the reverse.

Corresponding to the variety of theories of authenticity-focused consumers, we used three variables to measure this population. We included the percentages of workers in creative class occupations,[8] of people over 25 with at least a bachelors or professional degree, and of households with incomes greater than or equal to $100,000, all averaged across 2008-2012. While there were overlaps among the theories, the occupation, education, and income variables corresponded to creative class, omnivorous consumers, and post-materialism theories. We used percentages for these variables to

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[7] Craft brewery data are available at http://www.brewersassociation.org/pages/directories/find-us-brewery. Farmer's markets data are available at http://search.ams.usda.gov/farmersmarkets/.
[8] The definitions for creative class occupations come from Florida (2004).

reduce correlations with the total population, which we included in all models as a control variable. All of these data were from the U.S. Census Bureau.

We measured racial diversity using the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index (HHI) and data from the U.S. Census Bureau. There were seven racial categories in the data,[9] so this variable was capable of ranging from one, when the entire population reported belonging to the same racial group, to 0.143 when the population was evenly divided across the seven categories. The final value was the average of a city's HHI scores across 2008-2012. Including information on Hispanic status (which the Census considers to be a cross-cutting ethnic category) or basing the variable on ancestry data generated largely equivalent results.

Control Variables

We included four control variables in all models. For demographic controls, we used the total population (averaged across 2008-2012) and the population density (with population averaged across 2008-2012 and land area from 2012), which came from the U.S. Census Bureau. We expected that larger populations supported more trucks but were unsure about population density. Denser populations provided more customers but may also have been less compatible with the ties of the business to motorized vehicles.

Entrepreneurial conditions also influence the decisions of chefs to operate trucks. Food trucks are a less expensive alternative to starting a brick and mortar restaurant by about a factor of ten (Weber 2012). Thus, the more expensive it was for chefs to open their own restaurants, the more likely they were to start food trucks. We accounted for this dynamic by including the median rental costs for a two bedroom apartment, averaged across the time period, from the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

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[9] The seven categories are "White," "Black or African American," "American Indian and Alaska Native," "Asian," "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander," "some other race," and "two or more races."

Another influential factor was the weather, as food trucks operated outside and their customers had to be willing to brave the elements. To capture this effect we included the percentage of days with extreme temperatures (minimum < 32°F or maximum > 90°F) across 2008-2012. These data were from Wunderground.com, and we used the percentage since there was a small amount of missing data in the historical series for some cities.

Lastly, we examined municipal regulations concerning food trucks' usage of public space. In part due to opposition from traditional restaurants, municipalities often limited the access of food trucks to street spaces. Due to the difficulty of locating relevant municipal regulations, which were regularly changing in our time period, we only had data on the regulation of food trucks for the 50 largest cities, as of April 2011. These data were from a report by the Institute for Justice, a public interest law firm that has worked to lower the legal barriers to food truck operators (Norman, Frommer, Gall, and Knepper 2011).[10] This report identified the presence of "five major types of vending restrictions: public property bans, restricted zones, proximity bans, stop-and-wait restrictions and duration restrictions" (ibid, p. 15).[11] Due to the interest of the report's authors, we expected that the report was likely to provide a thorough accounting of legal restrictions, and in fact the report found that "all but five cities have at least one of these types of regulations, and 31 have two or more" (ibid). In our robustness analyses, we considered the effects of each restriction separately, as well as an index variable that sums the five restrictions.

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[10] The report is available at https://ij.org/streets-of-dreams-2.

[11] Public property bans are limits on the use of public spaces such as streets and sidewalks. Restricted zones are areas within a city where street vending is prohibited. Proximity bans are limits on how close street vendors can be to brick and mortar businesses and to each other. Stop-and-wait restrictions are rules that only allow street vendors to stop if a customer is hailing them, which is sometimes called "the ice cream truck rule." Duration restrictions are limits on how long a truck can be in a location, and how long it must wait before returning to that location or area.

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics and correlations for the variables. All of the independent variables displayed considerable variation. Multicollinearity was not a problem since the highest variance inflation factor score was 5.05, and most were below three.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Results

Table 2 presents the results from our analyses of the rise of Twitter trucks in cities. All models are negative binomial regressions with robust standard errors, clustered around metropolitan areas. The first model isolates the control variables. Larger cities with higher rental costs and more moderate weather had more trucks. The effect of rental costs reinforces the idea that chefs are turning to trucks as a cheaper alternative to brick and mortar restaurants. Population density is insignificant here but in two of the nine other models, it has a positive effect on Twitter trucks. Models two through eight introduce each independent variable on its own with the controls. This iterative procedure is valuable because several of the predictors are correlated with each other.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

In model two, the percentage of restaurants in a city that belong to national chains has a strong negative association with Twitter trucks. This result fails to support hypothesis one, and instead indicates that the food truck movement is stronger in places where opposing organizations are weaker. Later models lend further support to this perspective of movements thriving in movement hotspots.

Models three and four consider the impact of symbiotic organizational populations. In particular, breweries and farmer's markets are both allied with food trucks in the movement for local, authentic, and specialized producers. Correspondingly, cities with greater numbers of breweries and farmer's markets have more Twitter trucks, supporting hypothesis three.

Models five through seven explore the association between Twitter trucks and like-minded people. Cities with greater percentages of creative workers and college graduates have more trucks. The percentage of high-income households is negative and insignificant. However, without the control

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variable for rental costs, high-income households become positive and highly significant.[12] In general,

these results support hypothesis two. Twitter trucks emerge in cities with like-minded people, whether

because these populations provide more customers or more entrepreneurs.

Model eight examines the effect of racial composition. There is a strong negative effect of racial

HHI on Twitter trucks. This finding means that as the concentration of racial groups in a city increases,

and hence racial diversity decreases, there will be fewer trucks in that city. Replacing racial groups with

ancestry groups provides equivalent results but this data has some missing cases. These analyses

support hypothesis four, and are consistent with the understanding that diverse populations are more

conducive to markets built on creative recombination.

The last two models integrate the significant independent variables to arrive at the preferred

model of Twitter trucks. Model nine includes all predictors except high-income households since it was

insignificant on its own. Due to intercorrelations, farmer's markets and creative workers fall out of

significance. Dropping these two variables, model ten shows that national chains, breweries, college

graduates, and racial diversity strongly effect truck populations. This model provides the most

parsimonious account of the rise of Twitter trucks, and shows that these trucks are flourishing in cities

with larger populations of supportive organizations and people, more diverse social groups, and weaker

opposed organizations.

Robustness Checks

To verify the robustness of these results, we considered three additional sets of analyses. First,

we used zero-inflated negative binomial regression models to verify that the null cases were not

distorting the results. Second, we replaced the dependent variable with alternate versions that assigned

regional trucks to the largest city in a region and that excludes suburban trucks. Third, we conducted a

subsample analysis on the fifty largest cities to explore the effects of municipal regulations on street

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[12] The correlation between these two variables is 0.534.

vending. Results were substantively equivalent in the first two procedures. In the third set of analyses,

none of the regulation variables — neither individual dummy variables for each of five different types of

regulations nor an index variable summing the five regulations — were significant on their own or in

combination. The null results may reflect the entrepreneurial enthusiasm for the new food trucks or the

lax enforcement of regulations. Consider for example the cases of Chicago and Washington, D.C. Chicago

had a rule that limited trucks to only selling pre-prepared food , whereas Washington had the "ice cream

truck rule," which only allowed trucks to stop if a customer was hailing them. Despite these onerous

regulations, both cities had large Twitter truck populations. Together, these three robustness checks

strengthened our confidence in the results of the main models.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through our analyses of the self-generated descriptions of Twitter trucks and their growth

across cities, we have attempted to build a detailed account of the infusion of concerns for authenticity

into the economy, the particular characteristics of this cultural-economic movement, and its uneven

spread. We started with three puzzles: first, why has the traditionally lowbrow market of street food

transformed into a gourmet one when there are typically penalties to status crossing. Second, why have

products that cross genres flourished among the new food trucks when customers often dislike such

hybridity? Third, why are these trucks concentrated in particular cities when there are no production

advantages to spatial concentration?

The answers to these unexpected patterns of boundary crossing and agglomeration reside in the

cultural values underlying Twitter trucks. The transformation of food trucks is part of a broader

movement for local production that emphasizes authenticity and creativity. It is now possible to identify

this movement in numerous facets of the economy, including craft breweries and farmer's markets,

which we emphasize here, as well as in many other types of local economic initiatives and businesses.

These values explain the success of crossing status and genre boundaries. Building off studies of cultural

omnivorism and authenticity (Carroll and Wheaton 2009; Johnston and Baumann 2007), we argue that

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food trucks' creative crossing of hierarchies and recombining of cuisines generates idiosyncratic authenticity and fulfills the conflicting desires of elite consumers for both democracy and distinction. Further, trucks concentrate in cities where this movement and its values are entrenched, and where diversity provides the resources for creative recombination.

This research advances theory in multiple directions. First, we complicate the emerging nexus of cultural production, resource partitioning, and social movement theories by demonstrating that movement support can be more important than the consolidation of opposing organizations to the growth of specialized producers. The strength of the production of culture studies that has not been fully appreciated is their attention to the historical, political, and cultural context of organizational dynamics. We should not abandon formal theorization but we should also continually examine the contexts within which particular theories remain valid. In particular, our findings suggest that the recent growth of specialists may be more due to an emergent movement for authentic production that is situated in particular places and times, than to a transhistorical dialectic between different types of producers. The inclusion of social movement ideas in research on microbreweries and independent radio has helped develop a contextual perspective, but we believe that this direction should be advanced further. Similar to the debate in social movement theory on how interpretation mediates the impact of political opportunities, the effects of opposing organizations on identity-based specialists are likely to be conditional on their interpretation and on their relation to movement resources (Goodwin and Jasper 1999). In the case of Twitter trucks, cities with dense authenticity movements differed from those with consolidated generalists, and the former provided greater support to the new food trucks.

Second, we add to cultural theories of omnivorous consumption and authenticity. We show that not only are certain consumers expanding the range of their consumption but the range of individual products is also expanding, as food trucks recombine cuisines to develop omnivorous products. This pattern suggests the increasing prominence of claims to authenticity based on being idiosyncratic or

distinct. We also advance these research streams by uncovering the connections between omnivorous and authentic consumption on the one hand and geography and social movements on the other. Much of the past research has drawn on surveys or textual analyses which ignore the spatial and political contexts to consumption practices. We show instead that highlighted developments in these practices are rooted in particular locales that are hotbeds for the authenticity movement (Marquis and Battilana 2009). Further, we show how omnivorism builds on the diversity of social worlds, confirming a hypothesis originally stated in DiMaggio (1987). These directions help to infuse the production of culture perspective into studies of cultural omnivorism.

Third, this research opens up several lines of further investigation. We found symbiotic relations between the new food trucks and other local organizations but what are the mechanisms underlying these results? Are there material transactions or broader cultural legitimation processes at work? Are relations among specialists always symbiotic? Or, might food trucks conflict with related dining organizations such as pop-up restaurants? Likewise, the pathways through which corporate chains influence local organizations could be better understood.

In another direction, what can the boundary crossing evidenced by food trucks tell us about the broader economy? Future studies could investigate whether the boundary crossing that has succeeded among the trucks has spread to other organizations in the authenticity movement. For example, in the fine dining domain being atypical, such as serving fusion cuisine, is beneficial (Kovács and Johnson 2013). It would also be interesting to know whether there is a further geographic pattern to the spread of omnivorous products and other types of authenticity claims within specialist populations. That is, does fusion, for instance, thrive more in some cities than in others, controlling for the number of food trucks? Ultimately, research should expand our understanding of the potential *and* the limits to authenticity-focused markets.

More broadly, we introduce a method for collecting systematic data through Twitter that captures user generated information and is capable of approximating population-size samples. These data have the additional advantage of closely tracking actual user activity, rather than missing nascent businesses and including moribund ones. As an increasing percentage of organizations utilize online platforms such as Twitter, this method could be an invaluable tool for sociologists.

In conclusion, this study contributes to a growing body of research on the infusion of authenticity into the economy. We chart some of the particular cultural dynamics of this movement, and we also show that the movement is unevenly distributed across the country. Where this movement will spread and what forms it will take depend on the characteristics of the underlying cultural-economic movement.

Table 1 - Descriptive Statistics and Correlations, *N* = 287

	Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Twitter trucks	14.31	26.69	1											
2	National chains (%)	0.35	0.09	-0.42	1										
3	Breweries	2.76	4.65	0.48	-0.22	1									
4	Farmer's markets	5.61	11.20	0.48	-0.29	0.46	1								
5	Creative workers (%)	0.32	0.05	0.27	-0.33	0.17	0.15	1							
6	College graduates (%)	29.80	12.26	0.21	-0.11	0.29	0.12	0.51	1						
7	High-income households (%)	20.88	9.71	0.18	-0.08	0.02	-0.02	0.41	0.65	1					
8	Racial composition HHI	0.52	0.14	-0.30	0.36	0.01	-0.18	-0.18	0.13	-0.02	1				
9	Total population	302410.2	591099.1	0.53	-0.24	0.35	0.86	0.08	0.03	0.01	-0.19	1			
10	Population density	3853.66	3371.25	0.37	-0.64	0.13	0.47	0.40	0.05	0.10	-0.38	0.43	1		
11	Rental costs	1024.65	297.51	0.36	-0.49	-0.05	0.06	0.41	0.10	0.53	-0.41	0.10	0.57	1	
12	Extreme temperature rate	0.32	0.65	-0.11	0.06	-0.04	-0.04	-0.01	-0.08	-0.07	-0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.01	1

Table 2 - Negative Binomial Regression Models Predicting the Number of Twitter Trucks Created in a City, *N* = 287

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
National chains (%)		-8.84***							-6.464***	-6.501***
		(1.381)							(1.487)	(1.495)
Breweries			0.15***						0.106**	0.109**
			(0.039)						(0.041)	(0.035)
Farmer's markets				0.081***					0.005	
				(0.024)					(0.02)	
Creative workers (%)					5.963**				0.052	
					(2.091)				(2.295)	
College graduates (%)						0.03***			0.018*	0.018*
						(0.008)			(0.009)	(0.007)
Hi-income houses (%)							-0.008			
							(0.012)			
Racial HHI								-2.6***	-2.8***	-2.83***
								(0.713)	(0.695)	(0.684)
Total population	0.000**	0.000**	0.000*	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000**	0.000*	0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Population density	0.000	0.000***	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000**	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Rental costs	0.002***	0.002***	0.003***	0.003***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Extreme temp. rate	-0.71***	-0.502***	-0.689***	-0.659***	-0.72***	-0.696***	-0.705***	-0.722***	-0.518***	-0.519***
	(0.137)	(0.091)	(0.119)	(0.116)	(0.152)	(0.158)	(0.133)	(0.118)	(0.076)	(0.075)
Constant	-0.542	3.05***	-1.288**	-1.173*	-2.195**	-1.382**	-0.571	1.237	2.978**	3.038***
	(0.513)	(0.786)	(0.411)	(0.572)	(0.694)	(0.539)	(0.52)	(0.754)	(1.000)	(0.833)
Degrees of freedom	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	10	8
Wald χ²	82.88	174.11	112.17	83.68	98.3	87.01	86.23	131.88	263.17	248.54

Note: Robust standard errors clustered around metropolitan areas are in parentheses.

*p≤.05; **p≤.01; ***p≤.001.

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